

The Union and American.

OUR COUNTRY FIRST AND FOREMOST.—BE JUST AND FEAR NOT.



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POLITICAL.

KEEP it before the people that the President and ring of thieves and scoundrels have deliberately declared war against the people of South Carolina and virtually threatened to murder them unless they passively submit to be ruled and be plundered still longer by the most cowardly criminals that ever disgraced the country.

ALL in favor of removing the organized rings of thieves from office and running them into the penitentiary, where they belong, must vote for Tilden and Hendricks; and all who are in favor of big thieves to rule us four years longer, vote for Hayes. That is now the leading issue!

A lone pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether, boys, and the great object will be accomplished. Stand up to your work like brave men having a great object in view, and never shrink from it until you have completed it in full. That work is the overthrow of the Republican bloody-shirt, strife-kindling party.

It is all very nice to talk of an unemployed man with a hungry stomach, and with wife and children at home, about bloody shirts and negro outrages, and paying rebel debts, etc., but unless such a man is unnaturally fond of politics and the Republican party, he will want to know whether that kind of talk will satisfy the carving of his hunger and if so how.

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER, in his speech at Andover, Mass., on the 18th ult, said:

"The elections of the past week show that there is to be a contest of the most determined character; a contest which is doubtful. I say it frankly, Mr. Tilden's election is not impossible; nay, not improbable."

EVERY member of the Lincoln cabinet now living is now supporting Tilden and Hendricks, with a single exception, and that one is Simon Cameron. And why? Because he belongs to a different class of men, and Lincoln removed him during the early part of the war because the government found it difficult to borrow as long as the notorious corruptionist remained in the cabinet. He was kicked out for stealing. And he not only supports Hayes, but runs him as his own special pet!

HERE is a manly declaration from Wade Hampton's talk at Darlington, South Carolina:

I do here, what I did in the convention. I pledge myself solemnly, in the presence of the people of South Carolina and of my God, that if the Democratic ticket is elected, I shall know no party nor race in the administration of the law. So sure as the law pronounces a man guilty, so sure shall that man be punished. I shall know nothing but the law, and the constitution of South Carolina and of the United States. [Immense applause.] We recognize the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the constitution and accept them in good faith. The colored people know that it is under those amendments that they enjoy the rights they now have. We stand upon that platform, and not one single right enjoyed by the colored people to day shall be taken from them. They shall be the equals, under the law, of any man in South Carolina. And we further pledge that we will give better facilities for education than they have ever had before.

THE "Solid South" will give Tilden 138 electors. And how the North? New York, 35; Connecticut, 6; New Jersey, 9; Pennsylvania, 29; Indiana, 15; Oregon, 3; Wisconsin, 19; California, 9; Nevada, 3; making 116, with even chances for Illinois, 21, and New Hampshire, 5, and even Ohio 22, and Massachusetts, 10—in all, 174 electors. And we rather like the outlook which is not a solid South but also a very solid North for Tilden and Hendricks. Be all this as it may, the fact of Tilden's election is fixed.

CONFESSIONS OF TILDEN'S OPPONENTS.

The very fabricators of these libels were Mr. Tilden's eulogists not two years since. He is, said the *Times*, "a high-toned Democrat," "a man of unsullied honor, public and private," "a gallant, conscientious, efficient foe to corruption," "of an honesty beyond all question," and "deserving the greatest credit for the good work he has done and the evil work he has frustrated." Need I add the testimony of the *Tribune*, the *Evening Post*, the *Nation*, and *Harper's Weekly*? Take one only—the last. You all know and admire my accomplished friend, Mr. G. W. Curtis—too much of a partisan, perhaps, but a gentleman and a scholar. What said he hardly a year ago? "In opposing his election (for Governor) we were careful never to question his ability, or his integrity. When he took hold of the Reform movement against Tweed, he did so with a vigor, a tenacity and a success that every good citizen could most sincerely commend. Tilden is a man of great political experience and sagacity. He knew that in his efforts he had necessarily alarmed the immense venal element of his party, and that he must count upon its constant and relentless hostility. No man knew better than he the power, the secrecy, the resources and the methods of that conspiracy for plunder and fraud known as the Ring. Happily his instincts and his experience assured him that the people are not corrupt, and that a bold, radical and thoroughly intelligent assault upon entrenched and enormous abuses is sure of public sympathy and support." "In the course that Gov. Tilden has taken in detecting, exposing and routing the crawling ring he will be supported by all honest citizens."

HE IS THE VERY MAN FOR THE CRISIS—THEN?

Why then, my excellent and eloquent friend, should he not be supported by all honest citizens in the course that he proposes to take "for detecting, exposing and routing" the much larger and more damaging rings that encircle and fetter every limb of the Federal administration? He has the "instinct" you allege; he has "the ability"; he has "the integrity"; he has "the courage"; he has "the experience"; he has every quality for a "bold, radical and intelligent assault upon entrenched abuses," and is he not then the very man? With his exceptional knowledge of finance and kindred subjects of political economy; with his rare talent for business, which is universally conceded by capitalists and business men; and with his definite convictions as to the problems which perplex our statesmanship; with all these added to the qualities which Mr. Curtis ascribes to him, the answer leaps to the eyes, the "Honor and the Man" have met.

THE EX-CONFEDERATE SCPTRE.

The South! ay, that is it! Prythee! see there! look! behold the ex-Confederates! I look, and see large squads of placemen, raising a cry of alarm to divert the gaze of the public from their own peculations and frauds. Behind them I see a crowd of credulous and long-eared followers, who people the vacancy with phantoms that exist only in their own fears. As I approach more nearly, the embodied Awe, the incarnate dread, the mysterious Gorgon, resolve into a scooped pumpkin with a candle in it, shining through the mist. What, in the name of all the stuffed and ragged scar crows that ever fluttered, are these Ex-Confederates going to do? What can they do? "Re-enslave the freedmen!" stammers one; yes I answer, when the instinct of justice is stifled in every American heart, and the demon of despotism sits triumphant on the ruins of our most cherished institutions. "Recognize the rebel debt," whispers another; yes, when it is carried through by two-thirds of each House of Congress and three-fourths of all the States, which will be when Bismarck is

canonized by the College of Cardinals, or Sitting Bull appointed to the place of General Sherman. "Pile up claims for losses incurred in the Rebellion," matter a third; yes; and the higher they are piled the more sure they are to topple, and surest of all under the Democratic policy of economy and retrenchment. Pshaw! these are the shallow devices of electioneering zeal, and no more worthy of heed than the cry of the fellow who hallooed fire in the midst of the deluge.

A CREATION OF GUILTY CONSCIENCES.

I, however, do not wonder that the South, like Banquo's ghost, should fill the Republican leaders with alarm. When she rises before them—pale, disheveled and broken—their guilty consciences, if they have any, must sting and tremble. Of all the milderds of partisan greed and malignity, there is none more foul and atrocious than that which has tried to enforce a foreign and corrupt despotism upon the Southern people. For a parallel to it we must look to the doings of Austria in Italy, or Great Britain, aforetime, in Ireland. The South came out of the war prostrate and benumbed; her capital gone; her labor annihilated; her social system uprooted and destroyed. She had fought for a false idea—fought bravely, fought desperately—frantically and cruelly sometimes; but she had fought in vain. Her cause was lost—and lost forever. It was lost, not as a fact merely, but as an illusion. Every discerning mind saw that for her nothing was left but to gather up the wreck, restore the waste places, and to re-knit the broken ties. A few lingering rangers, born of the contest, flickered here and there, impotent as they were foolish, but the deep antagonisms were all crushed. For us, as for them, the single duty of the hour, imposed by a regard to the common prosperity as well as by a sentiment of kindness, was, in the fine language of Gov. Andrew, "to prosecute peace as vigorously as we had prosecuted war." So that, where once all day "the noise of battle rolled," should be heard again the melodies of joy and concord, ringing like a chorus of birds when the black storm clouds are past.

THE SOUTH NOT TO BE FEARED.

Now, I have no fears of the South; on the contrary, I have every reasonable confidence in the South. Is there, indeed, any longer a South in any distinctive sense? The only cause of sectional division that ever existed—slavery—is gone, and the shadow of it hardly remains. We are united now, in interest, in feeling, in nationality, and in civilization, as we were never before united. We are all Americans, without regard to locality; we are all citizens, without regard to condition.

Away, then, with that culture of distrust and hatred, which like a malarious swamp, can nourish no seeds of good, can diffuse only the germs of blight and death! The late Mr. Sumner, whose devotion to his cause was the zeal of a lover, was yet unwilling that trophies of victory won by citizen over citizen should be preserved among the national archives; and shall we less magnanimous than that great soul, insist, like pagan conquerors, upon dragging our victims, lashed to the wheels of our triumphal chariots, amid the jeers of a rabble? Or, baser still, in the dark fanaticism of the middle ages, turn their skins into drums whereon to beat the tattoo of hellish partisan rallies? Are Christians? Are we patriots? Are we men? Or, do the vestiges of the brute and the savage, from which, according to modern theories, we are evolved, still survive in our veins?—PARKER GODWIN'S *Cooper Union Address*.

HAYES is certified to the country for November ensue by his faltering Republican lines, while Hendricks is presented to the nation green with the laurels of a substantial victory wrested from the very desperation of power.—*Phila. Times*.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

Ordinary Fall elections are complicated this year with a Presidential election of extraordinary importance, involving interests of the widest national scope and consequences stretching far in the unseen future. In view of these elections, and especially, of the hosts of young men who now, for the first time "energize their functions" as voters it is opportune to ask if they and their fellow voters all know and appreciate adequately the rights and duties American citizens. Doubtless it must be conceded that too many of them fall short of so high, yet so reasonable a standard. The rank and file, even in this free and enlightened country, are for the most part, but tools of partisan chiefs, and at election time, play blindly some thing not unlike the boys' game of "Follow your Leader." Nevertheless each individual freeman in the United States should know that, at least theoretically he is a component part of the governing power. The American people govern themselves by voting, and they are governed well or ill as they vote intelligently or otherwise. Hence an American's highest duty as a citizen is the duty of voting. The franchise is his right by the laws of the land. He can not claim it as his right by the laws of nature. The notion that every white male of American birth, and not a lunatic or an idiot, has, when twenty-one years old, the same right to vote that he has to air, or to the wages of his labor is as erroneous as it is widely prevalent. The like must be said of the notion that every ragged illiterate emigrant from Europe who lands on our shores is entitled to the franchise simply by his sex, his avowed intention to become a citizen, and his possible utility as a repeater, or that every emancipated slave of African descent is similarly entitled because he is of full age, of the masculine gender, and of a complexion more or less black. Practically, the right of the individual to take part in the management of national affairs is resolved into the right of saying what he thinks as to the way in which national affairs should be managed; and this he does by means of his votes. But a vote is often much more than simply an expression of opinion. Says a thoughtful writer: "The vote of one man insignificant as it seems, and as is the force which it derives from his will may in certain combination of circumstances which nobody can foresee or control, turn the scale in favor of a measure vitally affecting the condition and destiny of a whole nation. Moreover, no man ever casts a vote on a question about which there is any division of sentiment without neutralizing the opinion of somebody else. The immediate result of this is to deprive the voice of one of his neighbors of all weight, or, in fact, to impose silence on him as effectually as if he were dragged away from the polls before depositing his ballot." Any argument in support of the natural right of individuals to the exercise of so tremendous a power might serve almost equally well in favor of the divine right of kings or of the divine mission of Caesar. In America, the much-talked-of right of all who pay taxes and obey the laws to share in the Government has never been acknowledged in the constitution of any of the States. No satisfactory scheme—desirable as it may be—has yet been anywhere shall enable the minority, although loosely said to share in the Government to obtain a direct and recognized influence upon it. As to female suffrage perhaps the best answer to its advocates is that offered by a reviewer of John Stuart Mill's "Considerations on Representative Government." "True, we must confess with one another, women have an undoubted right to vote, and, we would add, to be candidates for votes; but we are told, on very high authority, that all things which are lawful are not expedient." The same reviewer declares

that voting is no private privilege but a public duty, and that the citizen is, in the act of a public servant, and as such, is bound to vote, not for the man he likes best but for the man even if he hates him, who, in his opinion, will do the best service to the State. Another publicist asserts that a sense of trusteeship—the voter feeling that he holds the suffrage not as a personal right, but in trust for the rest of the community—ought always to underlie the exercise of the franchise, and is the only sound and safe basis of citizenship.

To inculcate correct notion of voting and of the other rights and duties of American citizens, and, in fine, to impart clear and precise ideas on all subjects connected with the Government of the United States, should certainly be held among the most important objects of our American educational system. This centennial year of national life might well be made memorable by introducing into our common school our academies colleges and universities throughout the Union, such a gradual and complete course of instruction on political science as was long ago urgently recommended by the Regents of the University of New York. Our schools will thus become nurseries of intelligent patriots and of statesmen. The educational influence of civic duties, and of the free and popular institutions bequeathed to us by our forefathers, will be quickened and increased. Purity of election and a reformed civil service will no longer be Utopian dreams and self-government will be a glorious reality.—*Frank Leslie*.

THE Republicans founded their appeal on what is popularly called the "bloody shirt." With the exception of Mr. Schurz and Mr. J. D. Cox, we remember no prominent speaker in either Ohio or Indiana who brought into prominence those reforms which the country needs. Civil service, currency, economy, respectability, all went by the board, and press and speakers urged only and continually the danger of a "united South," the danger of rebel war claims, and attempted to arouse the old war fever, the feeling of bitterness hostility and suspicion toward the Southern whites. Now, of course this was done deliberately. It was no chance work. In July there was still reason to hope and even believe that the "bloody shirt" would not appear in this campaign. Suddenly and simultaneously it was raised in both States by all the Republicans, without cause, and without any reason except one—that they believed that on the whole, this was their strongest card. The field of argument lay open to them to choose. They could have planted themselves on civil service reform, on currency reform, on general good will and confidence but they preferred an appeal to lying and dangerous passions that seemed to them their surest, and, we must believe, their only way to success.

Well, it has failed them. Substantially the campaign with the "bloody shirt" is a defeat. It was a desperate enterprise, set on foot by the anti reform wing of the party, which assumed command and had its own sweet will in the campaign. It was the plan of battle of the Chandlers, Mortons, Logans, the "war horses" of the Republican side; and the subordinate leaders, not even excepting poor Mr. Schurz at the last, fell obediently into line and fought it out and substantially got beaten. Undoubtedly they deserved it but will it teach the Republican party no lesson? Will not Governor Hayes and those leaders of his party who desire reform now see that old appeal to the "bloody shirt," to produce, hatred and unreason is a failure, and that it is high time for them to oust the false leaders, to return to the true issues and question, and make their struggle for November upon these? *N. Y. Herald*.

Next Tuesday tell the tale, for good or bad, we live in hope.

TENNESSEE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.

The Democratic party of Tennessee in convention assembled, relying as ever upon the intelligence of the people, and their capacity for self-government—and firmly adhering to the fundamental truths of the constitution, submit to the sober judgment of the people the following declaration of its principles.

1. We do hereby heartily approve and ratify the action of the National Convention recently assembled at St. Louis, in the nomination for President and Vice-President of the United States—and the declaration of principles adopted by it as the platform of the party.

2. We recognize in the Hon. Sam'l J. Tilden, of New York, and the Hon. Thos. A. Hendricks of Indiana—the distinguished nominees of the party—men of great purity, unquestioned integrity and unsurpassed ability as statesmen; men who are consecrated to the work of Reform; who are the defenders of the right, and the uncompromising enemies of public plunderers; and who in their exaltation to the highest places in the gift of American freemen will neither forget that they are still the servants of the American people, nor betray the trusts confided to them; and we do hereby, with cheerful hearts, accept the assurance which comes of their candidacy, that in the Administration of the Government we are soon to return to the purer better days of the Republic.

3. We deprecate and condemn all infractions of laws made for the protection of the person, property and political rights of the citizen, and demand for the entire people, without regard to race or color, a rigid and impartial enforcement of the same.

4. We condemn the demonetization of silver and favor the restoration of the silver dollar to its former legal tender standard.

5. We are utterly opposed to the repudiation of any obligation justly due to the creditors of the State or National Government.

We declare ourselves aligned with the National Democracy as to the duty of the Federal Government to redeem its pledges and meet all its obligations as soon as may be consistent with the business interests of the country, and in such manner as to avoid forced and unwise contraction.

In harmony with this enunciation of sound principles by the National Democracy, we declare our intention to meet and pledge ourselves to the payment of all debts and obligations justly due by the State of Tennessee.

For the present, however, because of depression in business, shrinkage in values, the prostration of all industries and impoverishment of our people, we are unable to endure, and are, therefore, opposed to any increase of taxation—and in view of this condition of the State it behooves us as a people to begin at once a thorough system of the most rigid economy retrenchment and reform in all the departments of the State Government.

We favor the abolition of unnecessary offices, the proper reduction of all excessive salaries and all necessary reforms in the law, so as to make its execution speedy, just and certain.

THE most eloquent orator just now is "hard times." It appeals directly to the heart and pocket of every man with irresistible force. Your Blaines and Logans may expand their fine rhetoric as they will, but the thousands of hungry men and women are anxious only to know where bread and meat are to come from. They realize the necessity of a change, and hence the working classes are all for Tilden.

THE times are exceedingly hard. Do you want to make them harder? Well so, advocate the election of Hayes, N. Y. Herald.

